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wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual interests were minimal. [581]

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously physical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct expression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair combing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness. [341] [326] [574] [341] [515]

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own business, is curious of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggressive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are referred to admiringly as man-women (*nenq-mayos*). Men with poor memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial errands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gardening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as women-men (*mayos-nenq*). Women usually speak with praise of a man who is skilful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, therefore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property ownership, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the fact. [562] [57] [576] [576]

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462 The result of this attitude is to permit, even if it does not actually
589 encourage, each sex to control the other's techniques of livelihood. This
736 gives the sexes an actual economic independence of each other which is not apparent in a theoretic formulation that appears to set up a complementary cooperation making for mutual dependence. It is quite possible, and is indeed a not infrequent practice, for single men and women to get along quite ably on a subsistence and minimal prestige basis. I have in mind, for example, a divorcée with two children who not only had ample means of subsistence but had accumulated gongs, molcas, and pigs equal to those of some of the poorer men. There were widowers and temporarily deserted men who managed quite nicely alone. The single man is perhaps at a disadvantage compared to the single woman, since he has seldom had the same training in industry and since his cultural status at least requires that he do little physical labor except ceremonially. In fact, men living alone are often the subject of surreptitious gossip which accuses them of living by poaching on neighboring fields and livestock.

313 When the interpretation of this attitude is extended to its fullest, it
643 seems to be associated with the strongly rooted theory and fact that
women are the providers of food. In addition, after an open quarrel in which divorce is threatened, the chief or the tumukun will often read the couple a moral lecture in which the wife is urged to be a mother to the men and the husband is urged to be a father to the women. The conjunction of these two factors, the wife as provider of food and as mother, becomes indissolubly linked not only with each other but with experiences of early childhood. This image of the wife as the mother-provider was given perhaps extreme expression by Fanzan the Interpreter, who was trying to explain the significance of the marital relationship from this angle. He said, "Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives 'mother.'"

586 In many cases this sentiment is more the expression of a hope than a reality. The mother is indeed the provider, but as we have seen she is an uncertain and unreliable figure. It is not surprising that even though the whole weight and prestige of the masculine-controlled finance acts to stabilize marriage, Atimelangers average about two divorces apiece. When one considers the elaborate affinal involvements and the cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce, the figure seems high.

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Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in
addition there is always a large group of women who try to separate 515
the combatants but who manage in their role of peacemakers to land 519
some very effective blows. A whole village may be in a turmoil of struggling women waging a shifting warfare in the mud or dust of the dance place for as long as from two to four hours.

Men at such times are inclined to stand out of range and watch the ride of battle with mixed amusement and contempt. Sometimes a man may become indignant because he feels that the violence is going beyond bounds, that real injury may be done, and that he may be fined. If he is bold, he may step into the melee with a rattan switch and lay about him in an effort to separate enthusiastic combatants. Women usually resent this sort of interference, and as a rule the officious male is turned upon by recent enemies, who combine to drive him back to the fringe of spectators, where it is felt he belongs. A husband who is the cause of such an outburst either sits by passively, wearing an uneasy grin, or, if he is a man of particular dignity, goes off to another village or to his field until things calm down.

Naturally some battles may be much less violent than others, de- 515
pending on how much real jealousy motivates a woman utilizing this formal cultural outlet. More than once a senior wife who is in earnest makes life so uncomfortable that the junior wife finally insists on a divorce, but even a wife who has urged her husband to buy another woman will go through the forms of a quarrel. The only case in which the culture denies such expression is in the inheritance of a widow through the levirate.

The effect of this cultural pattern is to afford women a very direct 542 ●
and relatively harmless emotional outlet. It reminds one of the formal- 154
ized wailing required of them as an expression of grief that is denied men. In these two cases the culture grants more direct and recognized outlets to women than to men. It is not surprising, therefore, all other things considered, that men are apt to consider women, in comparison to themselves, somewhat vulgar creatures who do not know how to guard their tongues. It will be recalled that earlier there was occasion to refer to the training boys and men get in translating physical violence into verbal forms and in toning down verbal aggression on pain of financial sanctions. I know of no case in which women, or their kinsmen, were actually fined for verbal excesses, although such threats were made.

In the case of plural wives, separate households are established, and 515
a man is supposed to divide his attention, labor, and gifts equally among them. Any slight on his part may result in reproaches directed toward

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595 him and quarrels among the wives. A duty of the senior wife is to cook for the husband's guests and to take the initiative in contributing food to his feasts. The feasts are supposed to be held at the house of the senior wife. These duties may at times be considered in the light of a privilege and any infringement may be resented by her. At other times an infringement may make the second wife feel that she is imposed upon. For example, the tumukun's two wives, who had a long history of mutual hostility, once spent almost four hours shooting recriminations at each other on just this score. The senior wife precipitated the quarrel by harvesting a small patch of corn which the junior wife claimed. Their quarrel resolved itself into complaints on the part of the younger woman about the extra work and the consumption of her food involved in entertaining the tumukun's guests at her house; the older woman complained of favoritism and the extra attentions received by the second wife.

Not all wives retain an initial sense of hostility and jealousy. For instance there were two cases of older men with three wives each. In both cases the wives got along very well together and cooperated freely. It was generally recognized that they were good friends, although there had been the customary quarrels at first.

It is worth noting in this picture of jealousy that both men and women direct physical and verbal expressions of jealousy and anger primarily against other women. Men are less subject to open and violent attack on this score. This may constitute an unconscious expression of the fact that women, primarily as producers, are basically the most valued possession of the group. The structure of financial prestige built around the male may be compensatory in function.

POSITION OF WOMEN

● 542 From what has already been said it is evident that the power of women is far greater than a phrasing of their status in terms of finance would imply. In other words, their control of food gives them power over people but no prestige.

Women are also the pivots on which many of the financial transactions turn through the system of affinal exchange. A number of clues indicate men's dependency upon women. For example, I asked repeatedly of men at the time their wives were about to give birth, whether they would prefer a boy or a girl. The answer was invariably, 543 "Boys are good. They give our death feasts. But girls are also good. We 544 get their bride-price."

Another phenomenon that might possibly be interpreted as a recog-

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sition of women's vigor and the covert respect in which they are held is the rareness of rape. I was able to collect only three cases, known to about five informants, and only one of these dealt with a local woman. This may indicate, however, no more than that women are not apt to refuse chance adventures. A further possible hint of the real status of women is that in warfare their heads are as valuable as those of men. Anecdotes of the last head-hunting wars revealed that out of ten persons dead or injured, four were women. However, since even half-grown children can be counted in the system of revenge, we must conclude that all adults or near adults are of equal value in this respect.

Still another index of the real, even though disavowed, equality between women and men was contained in a bit of casual chaffing. Some men were tugging at heavy firewood and it hurt their hands. One of them said jokingly, "Our hands are not used to it. A woman should do this." I answered in the same vein, "That is because you don't work as they do." The answer was, "Yes, our hands are soft, so when we hit a woman it doesn't hurt. But their hands are calloused, so when they hit us it hurts a lot." A woman who was sitting near by joined in with the comment, "That is a lie. Men's hands are heavy too."

However, the questions of preference in the sex of children, of rape, and of physical vigor are merely symptoms. Women are in a position to refuse men sexual gratification and food. They can either facilitate or impede a man's financial career. An aggressive woman is usually able to humiliate a man. The case of Fuimai and Maleta, her brother-in-law, is instructive in this connection precisely because their quarrel was one of the rare ones that did not center upon finance, and the sexual element, if it existed, was not avowed. Fuimai's husband could not get along with her. He was seldom at home and she was looked at askance for her freedom with other men. It was whispered throughout the village that among others she had had intercourse with her brother-in-law, Maleta. One morning Maleta took a papaya from Fuimai's tree and sent a child with it to my house to sell it. Fuimai followed the child and took the money for the fruit. Maleta was furious, and in the quarrel that ensued he chopped down the three papaya trees near Fuimai's house. Everyone scrambled to strip the fallen trees, while Fuimai and Maleta continued their quarrel. Maleta sat sullenly on the ground below the verandah while Fuimai hurled a staccato of invective at him: "You should be ashamed! Were they your papaya trees? Is this basket I am weaving your basket, perhaps? Who always feeds you? You come here only to eat. You eat my fingers. I plant the fields of rice and corn. Whose fields are they? Are my fingers tasty? You should be ashamed." Here defi-

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607 nicely a woman was able to assert herself in terms of her real power as a
562 provider quite apart from financial status or kinship authority.

The power of women as opposed to that of men is less rigidified by
593 status requirements. It may leave a weak-willed woman in conflict. A
562 determined woman, however, has greater liberty in placing her allegiance where she will. An anecdote in the autobiography of Kolangkalieta gives such a case (page 494). Her husband was repudiated by his brother. She was free either to repudiate him also or to offer him the support of her own village and kinsmen. She chose the latter course. The husband could not but have felt the degree to which he was dependent
562 on his wife. Women's in-group loyalties and status obligations are less fixed than those of men. To a self-assured person this might give freedom. To an insecure person this might heighten a sense of bewilderment. Since the basic childhood training of Atimelang girls inculcates very little more in the way of internal resources than it does for boys, we should not expect women to be notably more constructive than men, even in the face of greater freedom of choice in certain areas. Test data substantiate this reasoning.

CONCLUSIONS

772 A number of points may be drawn together by way of summary for
562 this chapter. Boys have a longer and more difficult sociologic adoles-
155 cence than girls because they must enter the financial system. Their experiences and knowledge in that field may well be such as to reinforce the impression of uncertainty and inconsistency secured in connection with disciplines in childhood. Their search in marriage is for
[illegible] sexual gratification, for a provider, and for status both in wealth and in children. They seek in their wives a mother-provider, a role that women have been ill equipped to fulfill. Girls have had a more purposive training in childhood for adult roles although the administration of disciplines has been as inconsistent for them as it has been for boys. Their sociologic adolescence is brief, and they may undertake the sexual aspects of marriage unwillingly. In addition, marriage means for women far
562 greater economic responsibilities in a social system that does not grant them status recognition equal to that of men, while at the same time it places on them greater and more monotonous burdens of labor. For women complete adult status through childbearing is not rewarded socially; it is to an extent penalized in that it adds to labor and responsibilities. The important role of women is covertly recognized but not overtly. There is little in the way of cultural rewards (except posthumous remembrance in the form of death feasts) to make them want to

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be mothers to their own children. There is even less to make them want to be mothers to their husbands.

The culture fosters a linkage of food, sex, and wealth. All three of these are associated with many avenues of possible frustrations and prepare the ground for instability and distrust in the marital relationship. Despite this, the essential biologic unity of the family group is recognized in the repercussions of adultery on the spouse and offspring. Family unity is reinforced and extended in social organization by the woman's theoretic absorption into the man's lineage and village and is expressed economically by the theoretic mutual dependency in the division of property between the sexes, which should make for cohesion. Formally phrased dependencies may be denied in actuality by the initiative allowed women in sexual affairs, by the real power they are capable of exerting, and by the cross-skills allowed the sexes, so that individuals can exist alone, adequately if not maximally. The weight of male-controlled finances and the complex affinal exchanges succeed in throwing the balance on the side of the theoretic structure.

The sum of all the personal factors and the discrepancies between form and practice in institutions should combine to make people isolated units, highly individualized and self-contained to the point of being encysted, without at the same time creating any basic self-assurance and independence born of self-confidence. The recognized patterns of teasing, deceit, lying, and chicanery may be considered both as contributing causes and as effects of such attitudes. All these factors should produce a modal personality whose independence rests upon frustrations, confusions, and surrendered goals. In some instances the inability to create human contacts may actually be phrased as a fear of them. As Mangrus said after telling one of his dreams, "We die if people are fond of us."

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Chapter 7

Adults and Institutions

THE foregoing chapters have searched for the possible genesis of the modal personality in Atimelang and simultaneously have tried to indicate how that personality is both the product of social forms and the active agent in them. In this section the attempt will be made to search further for the interrelated forms and forces of personality as they manifest themselves in institutions, values, and everyday modes of emotional expression and behavior among adults.

STATUS AND FINANCE

In the formation of personality the devices furnished by the society for placing oneself in relation to other individuals are important. In other words, the status forms of a culture may well have significant repercussions on ego development. In Atimelang there are four main factors determining status: age, sex, wealth, and kinship. The age and sex factors are beyond individual control and function automatically. This might be an optimal orientation situation for the individual, although the reverse of the coin must not be forgotten since it automatically disfranchises women and the young. The wealth factor is considered almost a function of age, although in practice it is far from being so. It is noteworthy that wealth status is not formalized. There is hardly a trace of institutional expression of rank or of inheritance of financial position. Every man's financial resources are largely, although not completely, consumed in his death ceremonies, since the wealthier a man is, the more elaborate his postmortem prestige. Social prestige depending on wealth, therefore, must be constantly validated by individual effort. The burden as well as the rewards of such effort rests primarily on middle-aged men. The manipulation of the wealth-status system is one requiring constant vigilance, aggression, chicanery, and an excellent memory. The stress that successful competition places on a man is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that, if they have their way, old men usually withdraw gradually from active participation and retain power only in an advisory capacity. They leave the actual donning to younger and more vigorous men.

Every competitive system automatically implies that a large portion of the population will fail to achieve the goal set up by the culture. Granting, therefore, that a competitive system will automatically debar

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a large number of its members from successfully achieving the desired goal, we have the problem of discovering which people are disfranchised and what compensatory roles they may play. In Atimelang, as in many other cultures, the female half of the population is debarred from cultural goals on a sex basis; women must either break with the cultural tradition, surrender any claim to the major prestige rewards of their culture, or derive it vicariously through aligning themselves with a successful male.

This last device may apply to groups of males also, as among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, where a tribe functions as a unit feeding the prestige activities of a titular head. In other societies with structuralized rank or with castes, large parts of the population are given restricted status positions that remove them from any competitive effort for prestige. In Atimelang it is assumed that all males will enter the competitive system. In fact, every man is practically forced into it if he is to marry and if he is to retain his health by placating in death fears the potential malignancy of dead kin.

Overtly no differences in wealth are allowed for in middle age. Every middle-aged man who is married, has given a feast, or been associated with any transaction amounting to about one hundred dollars is called a rich man (*kafakai*). There are no formal terms for degrees of wealth, except by adding an intensifier, *berka*, meaning in this case "powerful," "potent," although, significantly enough, the more usual meaning is "bad." It is not customary to use this term, however, unless one wishes to flatter a man. Conversely the most bitter insult is to call a man "poor." Actually there seems to be no simple word meaning *poor*. One can say, "He has nothing" (*nala liopa naha*), or one can say, "Setang," meaning worthless, of no account. This, incidentally, is a term of reproach that is very frequently shouted at troublesome and naughty children.

The system of making no overt, outspoken distinctions in respect to wealth is carried even further. It will be recalled that an expression of opinion about physical appearance was hard to get. The same applied to all kinds of derogatory or flattering distinctions. It was just as difficult to procure a social judgment about a man's industry, his honesty, or his skill in craftsmanship. Good manners require that everyone, verbally at least, be granted an equal ranking even in the face of glaring discrepancies. When I discussed the matter with a young man, he said, "If anyone heard that I had said he was less rich, less industrious, or less handsome, he would be ashamed and would want to fight with me. He would be angry." Linguistically there is an interesting correlate of

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possible to give any numerical estimate of this group since their status relationships are so shifting. A man might be willing to assume a satellite relationship to a very rich and powerful kinsman, one in the upper ten per cent for example, but would not play such a role to a kinsman in the middle quartile of any hypothetical distribution curve of wealth.

This satellite role is of course markedly reminiscent of the fagging mentioned for growing boys and seems to be a persistence of the childhood role of being ordered about on small errands and duties. In greater docility, in more physical labor, and in the rendering of services, the satellite males approach the role expected of women. This is purely my interpretation. There was in Atimelang no thought of comparing the less successful men with women.

SKILLS

There are in addition a number of lesser skills, nonfinancial in nature, for which a man may acquire a certain reputation even though they procure him no social rewards. There follows a list of men with such skills, which I was able to obtain only indirectly in the course of extended observations. It is by no means complete but gives a sample of skills respected by the group. Not all the men listed here were in that somewhat vaguely defined satellite category. Those listed who were at the same time obviously men of considerable financial power have been starred.

Lakamobi of Alurkowati: calendarer; making of wooden mortars.
Rilpada of Dikimpe: a seer.
*Malefani of Dikimpe: burying lepers, making leprosy curses; a minor seer.
Rieman of Dikimpe: butchering animals and dividing meat at feasts.
Maieta of Lawetika: making village guardian spirit carvings.
Pedamai of Folafeng: carving.
Fanseni Long Hair: carving; knowledge of ceremonial procedure.
*Maliseni: vigor and violence in debate.
Mangma of Karieta: genealogical information; industrious gardener.
Lakaman of Alurkowati: skill with bow and arrow; skill in extracting wax from people's ears.
*Atakaliets of Folafeng: making curses to protect fields from theft.
Nicolas of Folafeng: divination by means of chickens.
Atafani of Atimelang: fencing with clubs.
*Maikaliets of Atimelang: clearing new fields.
Maninale of Alurkowati: suspected poisoner.
Pedatimang of Dikimpe: a seer.

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857 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on
[367] the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolanghalies mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor
864 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ-
593 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex-
185 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the symmatic way in which the mother teases and cheers the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by
[362] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continuous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The supercilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

155 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character.
185 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the
593 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely
185 to have a peculiarly hollow inflation. The sexual role of the father,
593 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

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therefore no surprise to learn that although the sexual impulse has not been seriously checked, the approach to the woman is filled with shyness and anxiety. It is a fact from the accounts of both men and women that it is the woman who makes the first advance. It is also significant that rape is very rare in this society. The feminine image is bound to be associated with mother and breast, objects which he both longs to possess and fears. The attitude toward the woman is therefore controlled by two powerful forces: first, that the father can obstruct legitimate access to the woman, and second, that the woman herself is a source of anxiety.

In the face of this one may ask why there is not more male celibacy in the society. The answer probably lies in the effect of these influences upon ego ideal formation in the boy. He must derive an exaggerated idea of the value of potency — which incidentally is appreciated by the women — but more important still, an enormously exaggerated idea of the value of status and wealth. The first represents the means of acquiring the good mother, the second the means of being equal to and opposing the despotic father. The goal of the man is fixed upon the reaffirmation of his self-esteem through the quest for wealth.

The difficulties and discomforts of a male's position cannot be overemphasized. It is interesting to note that in a society where there is a preponderance of women the actual incidence of bachelorhood is occasional, whereas no spinsterhood was observed. No wonder! The weakest must fail, but to cope with this failure society offers two possible solutions: evasion through bachelorhood, which is held in great contempt, and becoming the satellite of a more powerful male, which is merely a perpetuation of the state of childhood.

Although opportunities exist in childhood for the expression of sexuality, thereby diminishing the intensity of the Oedipus complex, the burden of conflict with the father comes in adolescence and in young manhood. By this time the boy has had too little opportunity to exercise any really effective aggression against his father, so that the expression through the quest of sexuality becomes the avenue of choice. It is not impossible to find that at this time a young man with serious sexual inhibitions makes violent gestures toward getting a wife.

As regards superego formation, it follows from the preceding description that it would of necessity be weak. The boy gets so few rewards for obedience that the threats of punishment cannot become very securely internalized. It is therefore no surprise to see that the two expressions of superego formation, religion and the technique of maintaining social cohesion, are not strong. There remain the sense

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157 of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental image, the severity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into parental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

• 158 One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine 159 ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

160 The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is 161 accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to 162 undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

163 Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the 164 male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spinsterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compensations. She can sexually dominate the male by threatening the withdrawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his infidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrangement in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the existing structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

165 It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

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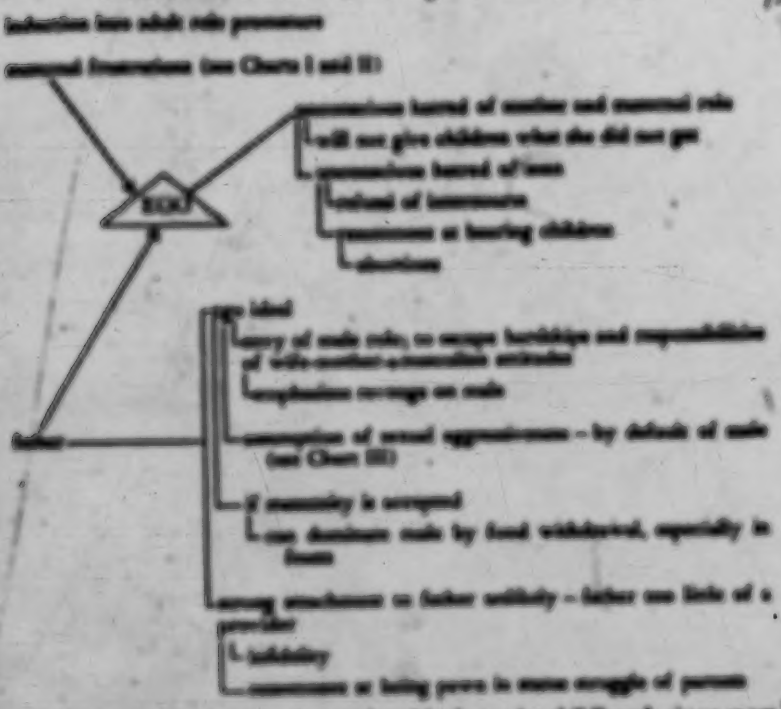
Chart IV. Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex (Females)



We may suppose it to be freer of ambivalence in childhood, since most of the prejudices against the parents come from the influence of the mother. It would appear that the female has a more comfortable internal adjustment. The sexual control of the household lies in her hands. She does not, however, have the minimal advantage of status. It is therefore theoretically possible to see two poles in female adjustment—the masculine type which exercises power largely by dominating the male through permitted channels and the feminine type which accepts the feminine role. Perhaps the chief source of women's security is that by reason of a series of factors she is actually the most valuable object in the society. Few women, however, are likely to be in a position of immoral security to enjoy this advantage.

PRESTIGE AND PERSONALITY

What we have described up to this point is the basic personality structure of both sexes. No change occurs in it from this point on, for

[187] knuckles, and then I would feed her. (Why did she cry?) She cried because she was hungry. [This and the departure of the mother are stock explanations for children's crying.] Once we went to dig tubers with mother. Malleum cried, so I carried her home, learned to light a fire, cooked, and fed her.

Once when mother and father were both gone, I cooked seven potatoes in one pot and vegetables in another and set them aside for them. When the family came home their food was ready. I was just beginning to cook then. I was eight or ten. If mother did not have food, she would tell me to dig tubers. This I would do, and then I would prepare food for the family. At this age I was doing cooperative work in the fields with my playmates, but I always took Malleum along and she played behind us in the fields. One day it was raining hard, so we decided to stay home and play all day. Then in a year we were big (actually about ten or twelve).

[Were you glad to grow up?] We used to say, "Now we are grown up and we have much work to do. It would be better if we were always children. When we were still small, we played like that (referring to six-year-olds)." When I was about thirteen or fourteen (probably younger) the young men all said to my duty would buy me. Fushang said once, "This girl had better come to stay in our house." I asked him if he had a bride-price, and he answered that duty had to make a feast, after which I had better marry his "father," Likum. Then Fushang asked me to inquire whether Maringlang wanted to marry him. I went to speak to Maringlang, and she said, "Good, that is fine. We shall live all in one house." At this time Likum had already asked Fushang to act as his go-between. Fushang and Likum lived in one house. Maringlang and I were friends. At this time I was still small and had not slept with any man. There has been only Likum. When father fed his second fourth, Likum brought a pig, and within the month I went to stay in his house. Fushang also married Maringlang, but later they were divorced.

[197] [Can you remember the first quarrel with your husband?] Likum and Helangmei's husband were all to dun measure for a duke. There was a dance at Ruakuming, and our husbands did not want to go. I and Helangmei went. The next morning our husbands came home and found us asleep on the verandah. They hit us because we had thus secretly gone off to the dance. They were angry that we had gone without asking them. (It was proper for a wife to have her husband's permission before going to a dance.)

1:Du Bois E-S (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Also OFS

in this culture seems to be decidedly on the matriarchic side, and this may account for the blocking in Lowani and Kitsaughalava, in neither of whom masculine strivings are present. The advantages of the women over the men may not be appreciated by her, being lost in her incessant responsibilities and hard labor. Likewise the fact that the culture pivots around the women may be lost on her, since it is obscured by the apparent advantages of the male.

There is much more to learn from a comparison of the four men. As regards their relations toward the ethnographer, they all show a passive longing that includes the anticipation of being frustrated and the effort to take from her by force. The absence of this attitude among the women and the ethnographer's observations both tend to confirm the existence of this feature in the male basic personality structure.

On the score of parental care the four males furnish the most striking contrasts. The influence on character structure is in each case decisive. Mangwa is the most typical, and his character corresponds to the basic personality structure. Rikpada shows a variation which is atypical. His maternal care was good, but the influence of a powerful father was decisive for his development. No sooner is the strong father introduced than we get passivity and strong superego formation. Inhibitions toward women are determined more on this score than derived from their relationships to the mother. The exaggeration of manliness and educability and the desire to emulate his father determine his career as a seer but add the embellishment of being a "good boy." In Fanton the balance between the influence of the parents is well kept, so that he emerges with the strongest character formation, devoid of inhibitions toward women. Comparatively good parental care led to strong ego formation. In Mahlaka, however, the departure of his father at eight left Mahlaka with a common longing for him, which is eventually consummated in his relation to supernatural beings and in his severe inhibitions toward women. The two seers had, therefore, a similar development; both are very passive in relation to the father, and both are inhibited toward women.

All the men are equally anxious and greedy; all have an extraordinary sensitivity, which they used to conceal with lies and misrepresentations. With the exception of Fanton all are equally fearful of new enterprise and totally devoid of self-confidence.

In those cases where parental care was good, we find educability and pursuit of the parental ideal. All these men have unsatisfactory relations with women. Mangwa is disillusioned and inhibited, Rikpada most

1:Du Bois E-S (1938-1939) 1944
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A second factor [illegible] in uniting the cohesion of the society in the woman. This latter is the strongest bulwark of this society against complete disintegration. The woman is not only an economic anchorage, but the financial difficulties involved in breaking up a marriage render the incidence of divorce only a fraction of what it would otherwise be.

A third force that makes for cohesion is religion. Though it is compulsory, operating only under threats, and constituted so that the individual can expect only a relief from an existing evil, its chief influence is to foster better parental care. For in the autobiographies the commonest appeal to the supernatural is made on the occasion of a sick child or of wanton acts of aggression.

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OFS Alor OFS

source of food. The rats are often roasted on the spot, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is so precariously and inconsistently procured as discipline is administered. Further, the food secured is the less choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued. 155 859 855

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefor more regular access to food. I know of no cases in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the guest privilege of the small boy. She gets no tidbits during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to notice her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat at feasts is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their household. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "treat," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This coincides with theories of property which grant men the ownership of all flesh food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers; in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for; yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy. 155 562 [574] [422]

The girl, then is set during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Further, she has more systematic and deliberate training than boys in the role of adult existence. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make, independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood. 155 562 86 [886]

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no crisis rites, no initiation ceremonies to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education in it. At about fifteen he begins to ponder the purchase of a wife and that means entering upon the whole complex financial game which is the man's chief labor and honorific occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and interestingly enough often insists at this time on a midday meal, even if he must cook for himself. 155 562 [881]

There needs a day in the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences positively helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually sometimes used valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious and distrustful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriages, Arimelagwa average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This means a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger experiences of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy their basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so phrased. Individual and village tutelary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of ancestors who have cultivated a field, weather-bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or wedges must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

* Mixed kettle drums used as currency.

536 goods. For the past half century snakes have no longer been imported, and the supply of currency is far less than the transactions of some seventy thousand inhabitants require. I was not able to make an actual estimate of the number of gauges, snakes and pigs on the island, but a government census some twenty years ago set the number of snakes at twenty thousand. This is undoubtedly an underestimation and it does not of course include gauge and pigs, but it does indicate that there is not a superabundance of currency. If there is a monopoly of profit and if there
824 is not an inexhaustible supply of currency, obviously one must resort to credit, and this is probably what the Alorese have done. Like ourselves they consider credits as assets, so when a man is dying his last will consists of transmitting to his heirs all his outstanding debts.

There are, however, certain marked differences between their system and ours. First, credit cannot be generalized and, second, the profit system rests primarily on good will and not on law. In fact, there is no institutionalized
[[824] law in Alor; there is only custom. The result of this is that hostilities are held in check because a man fears to alienate a person who may some
•[824] day be the object of a profitable loan. Incidentally, this permits women, who are not principals in the financial game, to be much more outspoken than men. In addition to a system of profit which rests on good will, custom requires that one should never pay debts until they have been repeatedly and persistently demanded by the creditor. This places the Alorese financier in the irritating position of having to dun constantly for payments, tactfully yet forcefully enough to get paid with the promised profit. If he fails to be persistent enough, he will not be paid. If he fails to be tactful enough, there will be a quarrel, the upshot of which will be at best a return of the property borrowed, without the addition of interest. In other words, in Alor as elsewhere the profit system can break down but it breaks down into simple reciprocity.

556 On the other hand, wealth can also be used as an expression of rivalry. An insult may precipitate two rival financiers into an orgy of pig slaughtering until they and even their remotest kin have emptied their pens. Finally a halt is called and the pigs are reckoned. The man who has slaughtered most is entitled to a formalized ghost which begins: "*Sapaliak!* The rotator's tail droops!" He then adds such insults and elaborations as the occasion and opponent furnish. However, the Alorese are a realistic and hard-headed lot and rarely allow themselves the luxury of such wasteful displays.

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583 bridegroom is under repeated pressure from
606 his father-in-law, and his wife as well, to continue the series of agreed payments. A woman's loyalty, especially in the beginning, seems more often to lie with her own family than with her husband, and she may even refuse sexual privileges to a husband delinquent in his payment of the bride price. But the payment in cookies is not the whole story. There are also bride price and dowry exchanges in flesh foods and in vegetable foods. In fact, the affinal kin are always counted upon as a primary source of contributions whenever a financial enterprise is undertaken. In case
536 of divorce the difference between the bride price
182 and dowry payments to date are reckoned and the difference must be paid back to the husband. Naturally, the longer a marriage lasts, the larger these sums become, with the result that the economic factor helps to stabilize marriages. It might appear at first blush that the Alorese women become the pawns in a masculine game of finances, and within limits there is some validity to such estimates. However, not only is the woman valuable as a sex object and the producer of those children who will give one's death feasts, but she is the provider of food. Without a wife a man will have to work for his subsistence, and without her cooperation and good will he will not be able to raise the surplus rice and corn necessary for those very feasts on which his prestige rests. Her powers are very real, even though they are not the ones chosen for social recognition and prestige; and she knows how to use them.

All this account has failed so far to give an idea of how a young man enters upon the financial rôle he is required to play on a more or less grandiose scale. The case of Sualaka is instructive in this connection.

When Sualaka was about fourteen he began thinking of marriage and the bride price he would have to accumulate. For helping his mother with the hot, hard tasks in the fields his mother and father gave him a piglet, partly as reward, partly to start him on his financial career. Sualaka took good care of it, feeding it regularly until it was large enough to exchange for a five-dollar moko. Unfortunately his father at that time was planning a death feast and high-handedly appropriated his son's pig. Sualaka was furious but helpless. He vowed angrily that he would never again raise pigs, a vow he stubbornly kept for years. Had his father lived, Sualaka might have had his help in buying a wife and his attitude about pig-raising might have had no very serious repercussions. Unfortunately, however, the father died and there was

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